MASTER OF SCIENCE IN INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS

DEVELOPMENT OF CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS IN INDEPENDENT UKRAINE

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This thesis describes the conditions that surrounded the creation of the new Ukrainian state and its major institutions, including the military. The thesis also evaluates the state of the Ukrainian military and civil-military relations during their development from 1991, and presents propositions to improve such relations. The conclusion states that the level of development of the Ukrainian military, as well as the state of civil-military relations in the country, is far from perfect. However, conditions can be improved: Ukraine has a good chance to maintain the quality of its civil-military relations similar to that maintained by developed democracies.

KEYWORDS: Ukraine, Ukrainian Military, Civil-Military Relations

CIVIL-MILITARY OPERATIONS IN ECUADOR

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Civil Military Operations (CMO) has often been blamed for the politicization of the armed forces and a loss of civilian control. This thesis confronts this traditional approach and argues that CMO need not lead to these outcomes. It introduces democratic civilian control of the armed forces, a well-established military mission, and civilian and military expertise as the basic requirements for the application of CMO. If the requirements are fulfilled, a multiplier effect starts giving legitimacy to the government, consolidating the democratic process, and increasing civilian control over the armed forces. This thesis examines Ecuador as a case study. Ecuador partially fulfills the requirements for the application of CMO: the State's structure allows democratic civilian control; and there is a well-established mission as the north frontier of Ecuador has become a "gap" in the national security system that demands the assistance of the armed forces. But there is lack of civilian and military expertise in the application of CMO. The demand for CMO in the north frontier can be the perfect scenario for training and education in Civil Military Affairs, fulfilling the requirement of expertise, and thus allowing the application of CMO in Ecuador without risking the democratic regime.

KEYWORDS: Civil Military Operations, Internal Roles and Missions, Nation Building, Democratic Civilian Control, Democratic Consolidation

THE NIGERIAN MILITARY AND DEMOCRATIC TRANSITIONS

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This thesis seeks to demonstrate that structural explanations for the 1966 collapse of democracy in Nigeria, such as economic underdevelopment, ethnic fragmentation, and political corruption, are insufficient. This study further demonstrates that the immediate cause of the collapse was the failure of the young, democratic government to use adequate civilian control strategies to respond to the challenge posed by military opportunism. The thesis argues that democratization is attainable in Nigeria if elected governments devise appropriate control strategies to check military opportunism, while strengthening and legitimizing their own rule. It acknowledged that the first government of Nigeria's Fourth Republic, installed on May 29, 1999, appears to have learned this lesson. The thesis concludes that constant vigilance on the part of successive governments will be essential as the Fourth Republic passes through the long process of democratic transition and consolidation.

KEYWORDS: Nigeria, Civil-Military Relations, Democratic Transitions, Nigerian Military

CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS: ENHANCING INTERNATIONAL SECURITY Florian Fekete-Major, Hungarian Army

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This thesis describes how civil-military relations at the international level enhance international security. In particular, it focuses upon civil-military relationships in the League of Nations and the United Nations, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and the International Committee of the Red Cross. The thesis also identifies particular types of relationships created by these international organizations and explains how participants influence each other. A short historical overview of emerging international civil-military relationships shows how civil-military relationships have developed at the international level. The ongoing Iraq crisis illustrates how civil-military relationships function and enhance international security. The examples and the analyses have shown that the international community has made great progress toward establishing norms of civil-military relations. The first step from ad-hoc experiments included a system of agreements under the International Red Cross. The community then created the League of Nations, in recognition of the need to control conflicts and military forces. The League of Nations established a strictly centrally managed, or authoritarian, civil-military relationship system on the basis of the accumulated knowledge and experience of aristocratic societies using the opportunity to settle debates about World War I peace treaties. The United Nations, also created in the aftermath of a world war, established decentralized civil-military relationships that have a robust array of interactions and well-defined policy-formulating bodies, the General Assembly and the Security Council, but never obtained a standing army. It preserved the tradition of victorious states by allowing for action by regional organizations, and conserved the sovereignty of independent members. The UN system of civil-military relationships has the ability to weaken the chance for a strong state unilateral, unauthorized military action, while the international community has learned how to use military force for peaceful solutions to any crises, or to support humanitarian actions to maintain international peace and sustainable development.

KEYWORDS: League of Nations, United Nations, International Committee of the Red Cross, NATO, North Atlantic Treaty, Iraq, Crises, Russia, Civil-Military Relations, International, Level, Security Council

NATO'S RESPONSE TO THE 11 SEPTEMBER 2001 TERRORISM: LESSONS LEARNED
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This thesis analyzes NATO's decisions and actions in response to the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks against the United States and assesses the probable future role of the Alliance in combating international terrorism. In September-October 2001, the United States chose to lead a coalition against the Al Qaida terrorists and their supporters in Afghanistan instead of ceding the initiative to NATO. The necessity for rapid decisions and action, the military capabilities gap between the United States and the European allies, and the lessons of NATO's air campaign in the 1999 Kosovo crisis probably led the United States to make this choice. NATO's contributions to the campaign against terrorism have included sending Airborne Warning and Control Systems aircraft to the United States, deploying naval forces to the Eastern Mediterranean, and conducting preventive action against terrorist groups acting within or from the Balkans. NATO's responses to the 11 September attacks, the unconventional and asymmetric threat posed by international terrorism, and the distinct contributions that the military can make in combating terrorism support the main hypothesis examined in this study: that NATO may be unable to play more than specific limited roles in the fight against international terrorism.

KEYWORDS: NATO, Terrorism, 11 September, Article 5, Active Endeavor, Eagle Assist

SECURITY POLICY OF THE CZECH REPUBLIC IN LIGHT OF THE INTEGRATION INTO THE EUROPEAN UNION

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The Czech Republic was integrated into NATO in 1999, when the process of enlarging the Alliance by including Central and Eastern Europe had begun, and the idea of the EU expansion was under serious consideration. These changes and the unfavorable development of the Balkans crisis created a new security environment in the region, and the necessity for a revised European security policy. Membership in the EU became a primary strategic goal of the Czech Republic's foreign policy. How did the NATO strategy influence the Czech security policy? What was the evolution of the security environment in the Europe-Atlantic region and the NATO-EU relationship? This thesis analyzes this process and examines the experience. The Czech Republic, as one of the candidates for integration into the EU, has created a good position for its entry. This thesis also explores recent international security relations and their strategic continuities for the creation of the new policy. Since armed forces play an important role in national security, this work analyzes a new concept of the Czech Republic Armed Forces' reform. In the last chapter, the thesis tries to define possible presumptions for the new security policy and argues some possible proposals, which is the thesis' main objective.

KEYWORDS: Security Policy, CFSP, NATO, European Union, WEU, CESDP/ESDP, Security Strategy, ESDI, PFP, Military Strategy, NATO Enlargement

INTERVENTIONS IN AFRICA: ASSESSING THE RATIONALE BEHIND SUB-REGIONAL PEACEMAKING MILITARY INTERVENTION

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This thesis examines factors that are more likely to lead to peacemaking military intervention by a sub-regional hegemon in Africa. It seeks to answer the question of what motivates the sub-regional hegemons to undertake peacemaking military intervention in Africa. It argues that the emerging model of African peacemaking military intervention depends on a sub-regional hegemon's decision to intervene because of its ability to provide necessary resources needed for such operation. Hence, the sub-regional hegemon will conduct peacemaking military intervention when, where and if it suits its interest. The conclusion reached by this thesis is that self-regarding peacemaking intervention by sub-regional hegemon is effective in resolving conflicts in Africa.

KEYWORDS: Peacemaking Military Intervention, Sub-regional Hegemon, Power, Interest, International Law, Morality, ECOWAS, SADC, DRC, Nigeria, South Africa, Lesotho, Liberia, Sub-regional Organization, State, Post-Cold War, Africa

EXPANDING THE SHIELD AND FACING THE CHALLENGES: INTEGRATION OF WOMEN IN THE BOTSWANA DEFENCE FORCE

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Botswana remains one of the few countries in the world (and the only country in the South African Development Community (SADC)) where females are legally prohibited from joining the military. The political and social pressure in the 21st century has softened the opposition of many influential politicians and bureaucrats to calls for inclusionary statutes.

This thesis examines the possibility of opening doors to women in the Botswana Defence Force (BDF). It examines the policies, programs, and scope of the role of women in the U.S. armed services, Canadian Forces (CF), and the South African National Defence Forces (SANDF). It identifies from these highlights the most effective approaches to recruiting, training, and retaining women in the BDF once the opportunity is availed.

In particular, this thesis examines the six critical policies of the U.S. armed services and the CF, namely, sexual harassment, fraternization, employment of women, equal opportunity, pregnancy, and family care. This thesis considers the lessons from these for the BDF. Two critical cases of sexual harassment, the 1991 Tailhook Navy and Marine Corps Convention and the 1996 U.S. Army's Aberdeen Proving Ground incident, are highlighted in the study. The leading recommendations emphasize the need for the BDF to take the steps required to evoke a cultural change to affect the attitudes and perceptions of personnel and to examine how the SANDF administers its policies as they pertain to women.

KEYWORDS: SADC, BDF, U.S. Army, U.S. Navy, Policy Implementation, Recruitment, Training, Retention, Tailhook, Sexual Harassment, Fraternization, Equal Opportunity, Pregnancy, Family Care, Assignment

THE EUROPEAN UNION IN PEACE OPERATIONS: LIMITS OF POLICYMAKING AND MILITARY IMPLEMENTATION

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The 1992 European Union (EU) Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP, Maastricht Treaty) marked a turning point in the trans-Atlantic relationship. The Balkan conflicts and broader political changes in the 1990s compelled the EU to assume more responsibility in peace operations. The EU's 60,000 strong Rapid Reaction Force (RRF) is planned to be operational in 2003. Will the EU be able to conduct Petersberg-type peace operations? This thesis analyzes policy and military shortfalls of the Balkan peacekeeping effort. Questions about the legitimacy of armed, humanitarian interventions, about difficulties in common policy formulation and translation to sound military objectives are the core problems of civil-military relations in European peace operations. The case studies focus on the EU failure to resolve the Bosnian crises between 1992-95, and on the gaps between NATO policies and military objectives in the operations of "Implementation Force" in Bosnia and "Allied Force" in Kosovo. The thesis considers developments in EU CFSP institutions and EU-NATO relationships, as well as the EU's response to terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001. The thesis argues that the difficulty in EU CFSP formulation limits the effective use of RRF in military operations.

KEYWORDS: European Union, CFSP, NATO, Peace Operations, Policymaking, Strategy, Military Operations, Humanitarian Intervention, Military Intervention

THE ROLE OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY AND DEFENSE COUNCIL OF UKRAINE IN THE POLITICAL DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

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The thesis examines the National Security and Defense Council of Ukraine (NSDC) and its role in the political decision-making process. Within the context of the post-Soviet period, this research analyzes the development of the NSDC's influence on the political process in Ukraine since 1994. In addition, the thesis evaluates the place of the National Security and Defense Council of Ukraine and, in particular, of its Secretary, in the Ukrainian government. The present research analyzes and compares the experience of leading East-European and former Soviet Union countries, as well as that of the United States of America, in resolving the issues of national security policy. This study also makes suggestions about how to apply those experiences to the Ukrainian situation. The purpose of this thesis is to define the potential of the National Security and Defense Council as an actor in the Ukrainian political arena, and to find the strengths and weaknesses of the NSDC. The offered conclusions refer to the factors that undermine the NSDC's practical power in the political realm, conditions under which one might expect changes to the Council's contemporary role in the Ukrainian government, and the experiences of national security institutions of other countries and their application to the NSDC.

KEYWORDS: Ukraine, National Security, Political System, Decision-making Process, National Strategy

THE STRATEGY OF UKRAINIAN-U.S. DEFENSE AND MILITARY RELATIONS ON THE MODERN STAGE

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This thesis analyzes the strategy of modern Ukrainian-U.S. defense and military relations in three areas: Defense Relations; Military Relations; and Civil-Military Relations. These relations are assessed in terms of their adequacy to obtain Ukraine's overall strategic goals. The quantity and complexity of the U.S. defense and military engagement programs towards Ukraine have fragmented the entire coordination process. The thesis concludes that the recent goals and objectives of existing relations should be concentrated on the Ukrainian Armed Forces' transition to democratic civil-military relations. The transformation of the Ukrainian Armed Forces is essential to maintaining progress toward the development of stable and democratic civil-military relations in Ukraine and its armed forces, which are prepared to assume their place within European and transatlantic security.

KEYWORDS: Ukrainian-U.S. Relations, Defense Relations, Military Relations, Civil-Military Relations, Ukrainian Armed Forces Reformation and Transformation Processes, National Strategy, National Security